and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
62 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

## Chapter II

## THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [84] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [55] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

Table VII

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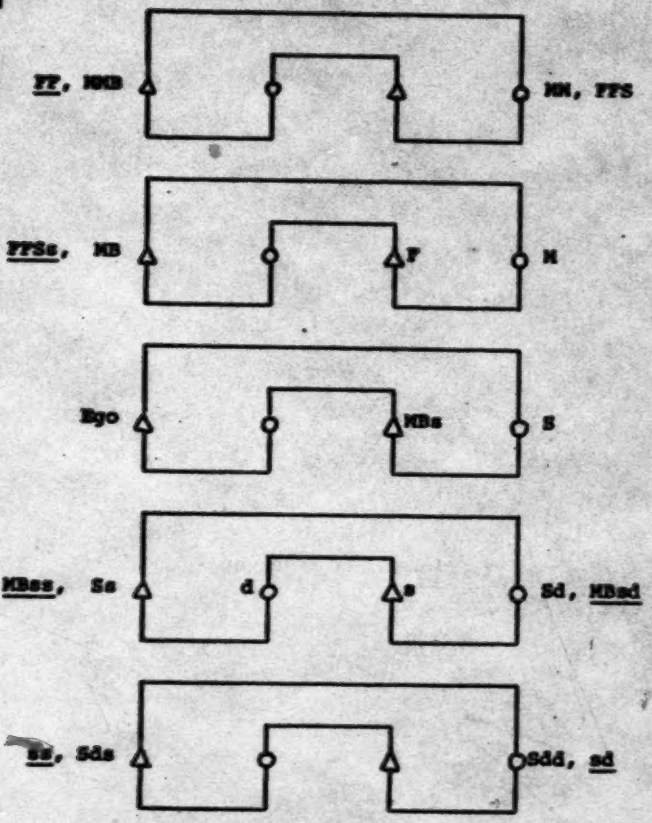

553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equiv-
alences already presented:

FFSs → FFMs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
*[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
*601 the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[844] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[539] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[539] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[271] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[55] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

## Chapter VII

## NAMING AND INITIATION

### Naming

844 585 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private affairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf- 553 881 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions [128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 [613] According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver 553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony 562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time. At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

[553] Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the [538] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with [201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for [434] the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere- [723] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi roqu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (eme nure eme rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu,
827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give him a name. So the child receives his name from some other man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will, as usual, be called iyedage, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

## Initiation

At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hier-
553 archically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari.

613 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's
553 brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three
173 lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

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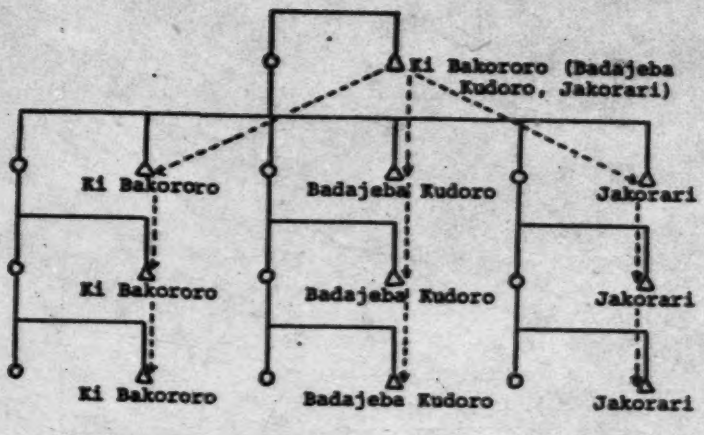
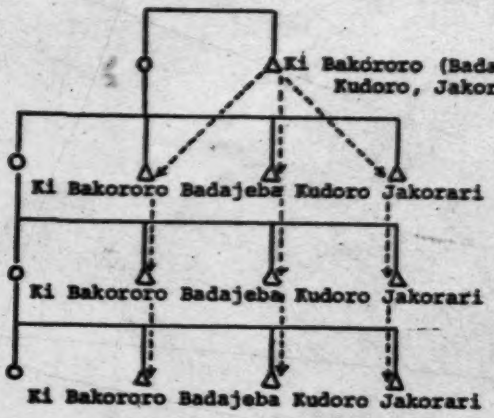
Table VIII





Ki Bakororo (Badajeba Kudoro, Jakorari)
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari

The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 553 173 it is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

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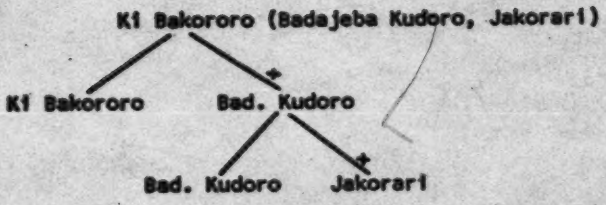


Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

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593 like to stress that they are not really the same person:
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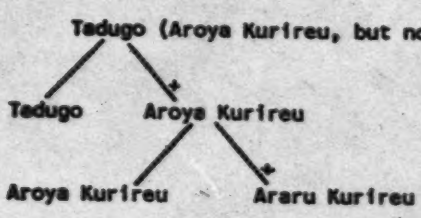
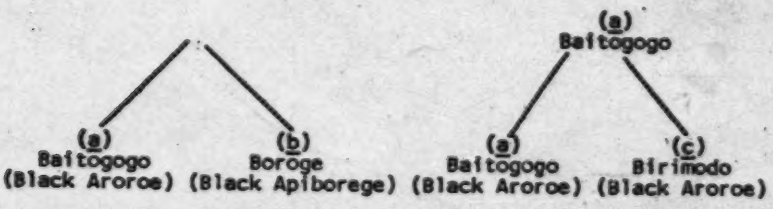



613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
879 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother--younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:




Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare, you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or metado (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

In a society where the majority of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the function of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

Another instance of reciprocal address results from the initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same time are given a common name, which they later use in addressing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways, they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge, Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the existence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of this group of boys bound together by the common experience of becoming full members of adult society at the same time, and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo and the other Gê tribes.

613 626 178 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was [52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 64 Another possibility open to a man without descendants (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 533 764 Hugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his representative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 301 533 534 162 553 616 562 All the important cultural components which have been seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments, songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and a new name. But there are some differences and many important additions. This time a relationship is established with a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of the larger human society, not just of his own family. Furthermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming 764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for 881 616 571 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that 881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his 834 561 825 822 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo distinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when

personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and without enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat. The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are dependent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> Aroe come again and again to visit their mother, their father, their children, their poari, their bow and arrow. They transform themselves into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws] kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy eagle], and come again and again. They transform themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and child never really become totally separated—separation is a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P.W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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fixed upon a maiden, though without her knowledge, his father sends a message to the girl's father, saying that he with his son and relatives will visit him shortly. The recipient of this message readily surmises the object of the visit, and if the prospective marriage is agreeable to him, makes preparations for a grand festival. Finally, after the festivities have lasted two or three days, the bridegroom's party suddenly seize the maiden in question, hurry her away to their canoes and disappear, as if they had kidnapped her. But no attempt is made to prevent this act, or to pursue the apparently fleeing party, and the girl is henceforth regarded as married.

Some other tribes test the skill of their young men in archery before allowing them to marry; and if one does not prove to be a good marksman, the maiden whose hand he seeks refuses him on the ground that he has not the skill to shoot fish and game enough to sustain a family.

553 Resuming our story of life among the Bororó: A very interesting naming, initiation, or naturalization ceremony, suggesting a Romish baptism, is observed for all male children while still in early babyhood. Early in the morning, at the first [302] token of the approach of the "supreme power," the family and [304] friends of the little one, whose body has been decorated by smearing it with gum and coating it with crimson and white feathers, accompanied by a conjurer, take up a position on the highest ground in the vicinity of the village; and at the *meri rutu*—sun rising—as the "supreme majesty and power" sweeps upward from behind forest and hill, bathing the earth in its glorious light, the conjurer pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument, made especially for the occasion, and beautifully ornamented with many-colored feathers, at the same time pronouncing, *Piadudu*, or the name of some other animal or object the name of which the child is to bear. *Piadudu*, softly repeat the family and friends; so *Piadudu*—humming-bird—a favorite name, becomes the name of the child. The Bororó, like most savages, [551] regard their names as deep secrets for religious or other reasons, refusing to reveal them to any person not a member of

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their tribe, and always responding *pardukuí*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child.

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives.

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand.

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands."

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mòdo* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around.

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
448 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[997] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[199] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/503 cont./

627 Occasional thefts were investigated with much noise, but without result. The chiefs or older persons ran around everywhere; long speeches were made on the open plaza. This happened once when Ehrenreich lost a fine knife. They went from [411] hut to hut, everyone had to show their knives, and we saw, to our surprise, that there were quantities of them (we counted 21 in one woman's possession). In the end, however, it was always said that the object had been hidden in the forest.

844 Birth; names. The woman gives birth in the forest, leaning against "pae," the "father," is what I wrote down, and I do not know whether it ought not to be "pao," against the "tree." The eyes of the child are assiduously blown upon; the father cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter and puts on a string.
846 The father and mother eat nothing for two days; on the third they may take only a little warm water. If the man should eat, [844] he and the child would fall ill. The afterbirth is buried in the [515] forest. Until the return of menstruation the woman may not bathe; then, however, and throughout these days it is done
847 diligently. Abortions with the help of internal remedies are said to be frequent, especially on the part of the ranchão women. If
853 the mothers no longer wish to nurse, they squeeze out their breasts and "dry the milk over the fire, whereupon it stops."
757 Medicine for sick children, which was prepared by the apothecary,
846 was taken by the fathers. On the couvade, cf. pages 391 ff.
352 The subsidiary question, whether the father lies in the hammock, is automatically answered in the case of the Bororó, for they have none and yet practice the couvade.

553 The boy is given a name soon after birth when the lower lip [304] is pierced, cf. page 592, which, by the way, may be done by persons other than the medicine man. The person performing the operation inquires, someone proposes a name, and it is adopted. Girls were also named soon after birth by relatives.
551 The names were those of animals and plants; Moguyokuri was said to be an animal related to the agutí.

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
[534] ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and offers the ghost chicha. That night the man will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a sick relative.

## LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided. These dietary restrictions continue for some months after the birth of the child. The husband, however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position. The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being buried. The midwife then carries the child and assists the mother back to the village. The child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information about using herbal medicines to induce abortion, nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
[855] potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat. Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or 6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl. The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present to the young man.

[p. 110(1)]